

# LAND VALUES.

The Monthly Journal of the Movement for the Taxation of Land Values.

Tenth Year—No. 114.

NOVEMBER, 1903.

Price, 1d.; by Post, 1½d.

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Much has happened during the past month. The wide gulf between Tory and Liberal thought and political aspirations—the dividing line separating Tory and Liberal—has at length been made clear to the meanest understanding. The Tories have at length unmasked their guns and clearly indicated the enemy against which they are in the future to be directed. The principles underlying Free Trade, which the pressure of public opinion has forced them to respect, or at least to tolerate, during the past sixty years, are to be attacked, undermined, and overthrown. For years this has been the secret policy of the ultra Tories; to-day it is the avowed policy of the whole Tory Party. Hence it is that to undermine the established fiscal policy of Free Trade, and to discredit the fundamental principles on which it is based, is the self-imposed mission of the Tory Party of the immediate future.

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Nor is the reason far to seek. As we have repeatedly emphasised in these columns, if Great Britain is to progress along the lines laid down by the heroes of the great struggle of sixty years ago, then the principles underlying our policy of free imports must necessarily be applied to the land system of this country. Land Monopoly blocks the way of further progress; Land Monopoly is the direct cause of that unequal and inequitable distribution of wealth, which is the recognised curse of our present civilisation; Land Monopoly is the direct cause of the exploitation, enslavement, and impoverishment of the working masses of our people; but Land Monopoly is also the necessary basis of Aristocracy and Plutocracy; the masses must be deprived of their inalienable rights to the use of the land of Nature, or they can never be made the mere "hands," the helpless wage slaves, of the privileged classes. Hence it is that all the reactionary forces of the country are rallying to its defence, and are eagerly seeking the means by which it can be maintained.

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As even the Tories recognise, to defend it openly would be but to hasten its downfall. Hence what may be termed a flank movement was felt to be necessary. In the fiscal policy the key-stone to the whole position is to be found. The only constitutional weapon they fear is the power of taxation; for they know, as well as Land Reformers, that by its means their one stronghold may easily and effectively be shattered. If they could only make direct taxation unnecessary, they would feel much more secure; and America, as well as the Colonies, has taught them how this may be accomplished. A Protective Tariff would enable them to hold their position, at least for a generation or so; for a Protective Tariff could and would be made to yield an ample and elastic revenue without having resource to direct taxation.

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A Protective Tariff! Yes. But, then, the people, in their ignorance (?) will have nothing to do with anything labelled Protection; hence another name for the same thing had to be found, a name which will appeal to the passions and prejudices of the people, and which would effectively hide the real nature of the policy they have to be induced to sanction. Yes, a name! It was simply differences of opinion in the choice of the most attractive name for one and the same policy which has caused the recent, apparently most friendly, disruption of the Tory party.

Mr. Chamberlain, who, of course, has long been aware of the secret intentions of his latest allies, pinned his faith to the attractiveness of a cry for a Preferential Tariff, not, be it understood, for the purpose of raising revenue, or of saving the monopolies and privileges of the classes from taxation by imposing the burden of taxation on the food of the people and the industry of the nation, but in order to favour our loyal Colonies, and as a means of welding together all the different parts of our world-wide Empire.

His allies, not entirely sharing his belief in the attractiveness of his cry, wisely kept themselves in the background, and graciously accorded him the first innings, and he made his now historic speech. However, Mr. Chamberlain practically "gave the show away" by openly proclaiming the self-evident fact that if we would grant a preference to the Colonies, we must put a tax upon food. A tax upon food! the people soon showed that they would have none of that; and so the attempt to foist Protection on the Nation under the guise of a Preferential Tariff had, temporarily at least, to be abandoned.

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Result: Exit Mr. Chamberlain, as also the few members of the Cabinet who, though Tories, were Free Traders of the old approved type. Thus the deck was cleared for the hope of the Tory Party, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, who last month opened his campaign in favour of Protection, we mean, of course, Retaliation, a much more attractive name, by issuing a striking and remarkable pamphlet, under the suggestive title, "Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade."

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Hypocrisy, we are often told, is the homage vice pays to virtue, falsehood pays to truth; and certainly the Prime Minister's pamphlet, which we reviewed in our October issue, affords striking confirmation of the truth of this proverb. Though manifestly, almost avowedly, written to undermine the deep-rooted belief in the principles underlying Free Trade as affording a safe guide for the domestic and foreign policy of a nation, the author still avows "to approach the subject from the Free Trade point of view," and to speak as a convinced Free Trader.

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The First Lord of the Treasury is, of course, an honourable man, and we are therefore compelled to believe that he honestly believes what he says. But no one who has read this pamphlet, and who himself has any understanding of the fundamental principles of Free Trade, will for a moment believe its author to have any claim to be regarded as a Free Trader.

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True it is that he denounces Protection as "a bad fiscal system," but nevertheless he claims to believe that in some mysterious manner this country would benefit itself, and save itself from the special loss which he assumes that "the widespread adoption of a bad fiscal system" inflicts on it by itself adopting this "bad fiscal system!" Hence he desires that his fellow-citizens should sanction not only the imposition of a Protective Tariff, but the imposition of Preferential Duties in favour of some and to the injury of other nations. And such a policy he avows to believe "to be in harmony with the true spirit of Free Trade," because, forsooth! the negotiations that may follow the adoption of any such policy might possibly result in a greater freedom of exchange between the negotiating countries. Surely the man who not only deceives himself but attempts to deceive

others by such resources is more fitted to be a Professor of the London School of Economics than to be Prime Minister of Great Britain.

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One thing, however, Mr. Balfour's pamphlet makes sufficiently clear. Henceforth there is to be no room for Free Traders in the Tory Party; only those who will pander to the popular superstition and prejudices in favour of some form of Protection, which are far more widespread than some of our optimistic Liberal friends believe, can hope to become members of the Tory Party, or to gain admission to the Tory Cabinets, of the immediate future.

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Honestly speaking, we rejoice at this fact. By their recent action the Tory Leaders, have boldly intimated to all whom it may concern that they intend following the path to which their traditions impel them. What answer will the official Liberal Party make to their bold challenge. We fear they have yet to awaken to the realities of the situation. They seem to have yet to learn that a policy of mere negation, of "stay where we are," will not avail them at the present crisis. Balfour and Chamberlain, and their followers, if the latter still has any, are practically united. They know what they want and why they want it, even though the reasons influencing them may not be those they avow. They have a policy to offer, one which will appeal strongly to the passions and prejudices of the masses. What alternative policy have the Liberals to offer? Are they or are they not prepared to champion the one alternative policy which has any hope of success in the coming struggle?

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The real underlying issue seems to us clear and definite. Freedom to exchange wealth is good, and must necessarily benefit all who have anything to exchange; freedom to produce wealth, however, is of infinitely greater importance. Great Britain must necessarily push forward in this direction, must apply the fundamental principles underlying Free Trade to its Land System; or it must retrace its steps, and return to worship at the altars of restriction, governmental interference in every department of industry, of protection, preferential tariffs, and Retaliation, which we once believed had been destroyed for ever.

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As our esteemed contemporary, *The Public* (Chicago, U.S.A.) expresses it:—

"As the protection fight in England progresses, the fact becomes more plainly evident that if the free traders would gain a permanent victory they must not be content to struggle for traditional free trade merely. Originally, that was a step in the right direction; but it was only a step, and if the next step be not promptly taken a backslide is certain. Cobden said that real free trade means the abolition of all burdens upon production, as well as tariffs on foreign commerce. Nothing short of that will answer. If the Liberal party cannot induce its landed leaders to see as much at this crisis in British history, it had better dismiss them."

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Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman at least, appears to realise the real question at issue, for, in a special message to the *London Daily News*, in response to a request that he should favour them with an expression of his views on the present situation, he wrote as follows:—

"Is it not the fact that the land system as it operates in our great towns and centres is a heavier drain upon industry and the well-being of the people than any consequences that can follow from the operations of foreign tariffs? Sir R. Giffen has told us that in the last twenty years house rent has doubled. I should prefer to see steps taken to relieve the homes of the people of this excessive pressure instead of adding to it by taxing food and manufactures."

We could wish that this avowal, or rather indication or adumbration, of the one alternative policy had been more definite. It sufficed, however, to call forth the following from that great Liberal organ, the *London Daily News*, which commenting on this message took occasion again to warn "official Liberals" of the futility of any mere "marking time policy," in these words:—

"We must beware of relying on this exposure of the hollowness of the new Protection, and in fulfilling the amiable prophecy of *The Spectator* that a Liberal Ministry will have its hands too full in defending Free Trade to embark upon any serious legislative schemes. The Liberal party has an opportunity for a great forward policy such as it has not enjoyed for a quarter of a century. And the nature of that policy is adumbrated in the message which the Liberal leader in the House of Commons sends to us. He asks:

Is it not the fact that the land system, as it operates in the great towns and centres, is a heavier drain upon the industry and the well-being of the people than any consequences that can follow from the operations of tariffs?

There is but one answer to this. It is not in building up walls against the cheap food and materials which foreign lands "dump" upon our shores, not in endeavouring to divert our industry and commerce into beautiful channels by a thousand petty interferences, that we shall strengthen the basis of Empire. What we have to do is not to overthrow the great work which Cobden and Peel did for England, but to complete it. We must extend the principle which gave us Free Trade to our land system. We must loosen the bonds which paralyse the national life at the base. The taxation of land values and the freeing of land will solve half the social problems which afflict the nation, will readjust the whole system of taxation, and will provide abundant funds not merely for removing taxes on tea and coffee, but for supplying those pensions to the aged which Mr. Chamberlain has, it will be observed, once more significantly dropped."

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Yes, in all earnestness, as we have been preaching these ten years past, if Free Trade is to be made a reality, if its blessings are to be secured to all, not restricted to the few, then the principles underlying the policy of Free Imports must be applied to our Land System. Thus and thus alone can we complete the great work of emancipation inaugurated by Richard Cobden. This, however, is just what both Whigs and Tories most dread, and against which the reactionary forces of the country will unite as one man. It can only be carried by all Progressives rallying to its support.

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In his speech at Bolton last month, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman proclaimed his adhesion to this policy, and clearly indicated his willingness to lead the country towards true Free Trade in the following words:—

Protection is not confined to foreign trade and to seaports; it has its relics all over the country. Our land system is not a perfect one; it is based on privilege, and the landlords who are applauding Mr. Chamberlain and flocking to his platforms are wise in their generation, for they realise that this policy will entrench the land more strongly than ever. We say that the land, or rather the value that the community, by its aggregation, by its industry, by its enterprise, by its public improvements, has given the land—must be made to have its fair share of the burdens now thrown upon industry. (Cheers.) Our present land laws cause a greater drag upon trade and are a greater peril to the standard of living than all the tariffs of Germany and America, and even our own Colonies. We have got to set before ourselves in regard to the housing question the same ideals that Mr. Cobden had in view when he was dealing with the food of the people. We don't promise two pigs where only one exists; we don't tell you to give up beef and to take bacon; we don't recommend a diet of untaxed maize, such as is common in congested Connemara, nor on the

other hand do we promise you untaxed houses within a few years. But what we do believe is that with even a moderate application of the principle of land value taxation something appreciable may be done to lighten the burden of house rent, to diminish the evils of crowding, and to relieve the pressure on manufactures. (Cheers.)

\* \* \*

These are the words of a true leader of the people, who realises that, as our great master, Henry George, proclaimed nearly twenty years ago:—

“The ruling classes of Great Britain have adopted only so much Free Trade as suits the class interests. THE BATTLE FOR FREE TRADE IN THAT COUNTRY HAS YET TO BE FOUGHT.”

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This battle has now commenced in real earnest, and it behoves all true citizens to equip themselves to take part in it. None dare remain neutral. They must fight on the side of reaction, of restriction, or on the side of progress, of Freedom.

\* \* \*

Henry George taught us, and taught us truly, that the one alternative to Protection is the Taxation of Land Values. At the same time, however, he necessarily taught our reactionary opponents that the one alternative to the Taxation of Land Values is Protection. And it is this knowledge that is to-day uniting them in a combined attack on Free Trade.

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That, besides securing the elastic revenue without direct taxation, Protection will benefit some, though it will injure others, cannot be denied. But if once our fellow-citizens could be made to realise who it would benefit and who it would injure, we should have no fear of its adoption.

To this end let us briefly consider Mr. Chamberlain's latest “unauthorised programme.” He proposes, *as a beginning*, that we should impose a tax upon corn, excluding maize, of 6d. per cwt.; upon meat 5 per cent.; and upon dairy produce, 5 per cent. Corn, meat, and dairy produce coming from our Colonies, would, of course, be exempted, we are told, in order to give them a preference over the foreigner, and thus weld together the different parts of our great Empire—for which purpose, we are assured, the whole scheme is required. Let us see how it works out.

\* \* \*

|   | Received by Treasury. | Total paid by Consumer. |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>CORN (excluding Maize), 6d. per cwt.</b> |                       |                         |
| Foreign countries, ... 132 million cwts.    | £ 3,300,000           | £ 3,300,000             |
| Colonies, ... 35 " "                        | —                     | 875,000                 |
| Home grown, ... 155 " "                     | —                     | 3,875,000               |
| <b>MEAT (excluding Bacon), 5 per cent.</b>  |                       |                         |
| Foreign countries, ... £ 27,000,000         | 1,350,000             | 1,350,000               |
| Colonies, ... 7,500,000                     | —                     | 375,000                 |
| Home raised (say), ... 40,000,000           | —                     | 2,000,000               |
| <b>DAIRY PRODUCE, 5 per cent.</b>           |                       |                         |
| Foreign countries, ... £ 26,000,000         | 1,300,000             | 1,300,000               |
| Colonies, ... 7,000,000                     | —                     | 350,000                 |
| Home raised (say), ... 40,000,000           | —                     | 2,000,000               |
|   | £ 5,950,000           | £ 15,425,000            |

Thus the consumers of corn, meat, and dairy produce would have to pay £15,425,000—plus, of course, interest and one or two profits—more than they do now for the same things, if they find themselves able to consume as much under the new order of things, which is more than doubtful. Of this amount some £5,950,000, less cost of collection, will find its way to the Public Treasury. The Colonies, or rather some few Colonists, will benefit to the amount of £1,600,000, rather a poor bribe if in return they are expected to return to heel and shape their fiscal policies in accordance with orders received from Downing Street, and to relinquish all intention of manufacturing for themselves anything and everything Great Britain can manufacture for them. And the balance?

Yes, here we come to the crux of the whole precious scheme. The balance of some £7,875,000, more be it observed than accrues to the Treasury and the Colonies, will flow into the pockets of somebody in Great Britain. Who? Well, it will accrue to what is called “the great Agricultural Interest of the Nation.” Under this term are included three distinct and separate classes—viz., the Agricultural Labourer, who has to work, and work hard, for the little he ever gets; the Farmer, who also has to work for what he gets; and the Landholder, who obtains his share for graciously allowing others the use of God's earth. Who of these three will get this “unconsidered trifle” of nearly £8,000,000 per annum, or a capitalised value of some £160,000,000 sterling?

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Well, doubtless the agricultural labourer will be *told* that he'll get it, or at least some of it. Some of the more near sighted amongst the farmers will *believe* that they'll get it. But the land-holder *knows* full well that he'll get it. And no one who has given the subject an hour's serious study will doubt it for one moment.

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As a noble American, who probably knows more about the workings of a Protective Tariff than any one living, recently expressed it—

“Protection is not a Policy; It's a Swindle!”

And, according to the dictionary, a swindle is “an act or process of defrauding by systematic imposition,” or “of obtaining property by practising on the ignorance or credulity of the owner.”

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At a special meeting of the Hackney Borough Council a resolution was carried, with only two dissentients, “that the Council petition Parliament to bring in a Bill for the rating of ground rents and ground values, to create a new source of revenue and reduce the present heavy rates.”—*Daily News*, 19/10/03.

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The County Council Progressives have issued a fighting leaflet on “How to Relieve the Rates—Tax Land Values.” This is one of the best efforts yet from that body. Why do the partizans of the landlords, the leaflet says, oppose the reform if, as they say, the tax can be shifted to the tenant?

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At the Autumnal Meeting of the Association of Municipal Corporations, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, on Wednesday, October 21st, a resolution was passed affirming “That in view of the growing burden on the occupying ratepayers in urban districts it was urgent to provide some means by which the owner of land (whether occupied or vacant) shall contribute directly to the local revenue; and, further, that the whole subject of ground values be referred to the Council for consideration and report, in addition to several Bills dealing with the subject that had previously been introduced into Parliament.

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Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P., has written to Mr. Richard Brown, Hon. Secretary of the Tyneside League for the Taxation of Land Values, arguing the proposals of the League would lower rates and cheapen buildings, strengthen the home market and raise wages.

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“The Liberal party has something to do besides standing by Cobden's great achievement. It must carry out Cobden's great legacy. ‘I hope to see,’ he said, ‘societies formed calling upon the Legislature to revalue the land and put a taxation upon it in proportion to the wants of the State.’ That is what the next Liberal Government have to do. That is the reply we have to make to Mr. Chamberlain's attack on Free Trade. With the millions that will accrue from the taxation of land values we shall not only solve the problem of national revenue, but we shall be able to cheapen tea and tobacco without raising the price of

bread, and we shall have ample to provide the old-age pensions which were offered as a bait when Mr. Chamberlain introduced his Protection scheme. Let our reply be to complete Richard Cobden's work and to add Free Land to Free Trade. Liberalism can never have a greater cause, the country was never more ripe for a great reform. The coming autumn campaign should make that reform the cardinal theme in every Liberal speech."—*Daily News*.

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What has the Cobden Club to say to the above declaration of policy by our leading Liberal newspaper? A correspondent to the *News* points out that Mr. Harold Cox, secretary of the Club, is opposed to the taxation of land values, and that he has further declared that "the Club would condemn the 4/ land tax on the values of to-day because it would constitute a robbery of the few for the benefit of the many."

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"The Amsterdam tug Titan is towing the Italian ship Erasmus from Philadelphia to Genoa, where she was built. The ship arrived at Philadelphia on August 6 in a dismantled state, having had to cut away her masts after having been thrown on her beam ends in a gale. The masts were of steel, and it is found cheaper to make this tow of 4 000 miles than to replace them on the other side."—*Glasgow Herald*, 24/9/03.

If our readers will refer to pp. 198-207 of "Protection or Free Trade," by Henry George, they will see the cause of this phenomenon in the industrial world.

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**TRAMWAYS AND HIGHER RENTS.**—The extension of the Glasgow tramway system in the Rutherglen district has had the effect of increasing the value of the property in Ruskin Terrace. Yesterday a resident, named John Rogerson, appealed against the valuation of his house at the Valuation Appeal Court for the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire, held in the County Buildings, Glasgow. He asked that it should be reduced from £21 to £18, which was the former valuation. The house cost him £250, and the feu duty was £4 10s. The Assessor (Mr. Curtis) stated that the Glasgow electric cars had run past the terrace and had increased the value of the houses. One house in the same terrace was let at £23 per annum. The appeal was dismissed, and also an appeal by a neighbouring proprietor that a valuation of £20 should be reduced to £18 5s.—*Glasgow Daily Record*.

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A mass meeting of working men was held at the Wellington Monument, Liverpool, 27th September, 1903, Mr. E. M'Hugh presided. A sweeping resolution was unanimously carried to the effect "That real Free Trade involves freedom to produce. That the essential danger that threatens trade and commerce and the well-being of the people arises from the unbridled power of a privileged few, who monopolise the bounties of Nature, and capriciously prevent or permit production—like Lord Penrhyn—and daily appropriate an ever-increasing quantity of the wealth produced by the industrial community. That in the thirty years between 1871 and 1901 over 11,700 square miles of fertile fields have been withdrawn from the cultivation of food and added to permanent pasture, the people driven off to add to the congestion of the great towns; that this accounts for much of the poverty and low wages, high house-rents, and bad trade. That inasmuch as nothing less than the removal of the cause will cure a disease, justice demands from us the recognition of the self-evident truth that 'an object is the property of its producer,' which carries with it the indisputable inference that 'the producer of an object is its owner': we therefore, in the name of justice, demand the abolition of all taxes on the products of labour, and the imposition in lieu thereof of a tax on the value of land, irrespective of improvements."

At his recent big meetings Mr. Asquith finished masterly replies to Mr. Chamberlain by declaring for taxation of land values. At Newcastle, 24th October, he said—"Let no one suppose that the only alternative is to wrap ourselves in the inertia of a complacent optimism. We Liberals not only do not deny, we assert, not for the first but the hundredth time, that both in the industrial and social spheres there are evils which cry aloud for redress. . . . We want further a serious attempt to grapple with the problems of the tenure and taxation of land both in the country and in the towns." This is the alternative of the Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman. But what is wanted urgently is for either or both these Liberal statesmen to devote one speech to elucidate to the public how a tax on land values would work to the advantage of our trade; to show the connection between free exchange and freedom to produce wealth, which this system of taxation would bring, and to show further how it would promote social progress.

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In the course of his lecture in Edinburgh last month, Mr. Thomas Ross stated that the beehive houses to be found still in the Western Highlands are the earliest surviving type of human habitation built of stone. The housing problem of those times had no terrors for any man who had time enough to collect a few boulders.—*Glasgow Evening News*.

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Free stones, free land, freedom, and no housing problem. Precisely. When the taxation of land values comes and provides in abundance these necessary requisites to housing, the "terrors" of the problem will be as scarce a quantity as the stones and the land are plentiful.

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**THE REALITIES OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION.**—Our esteemed co-worker, Mr. L. H. Berens, concludes a letter to the London *Daily News* with the following, to our mind, true presentation of the present political situation:—

Finally, may I express the hope that you, sir, will continue to emphasise the fact that a policy of mere negation, of "stay as we are," on the part of the Liberal Party would be but to play the Tory game? We dare not, nay, we cannot, remain as we are. Some change is inevitable. The nation must either return to worship at the old altars we thought destroyed for ever, as the Tories to-day invite it to do, or it must push forward on the lines clearly indicated by the heroes of the great struggle for freedom of sixty years ago, as the Liberals should invite them to do. To-day the ultimate issue may seem doubtful. But if Liberals will only face the stern realities of the situation their victory is assured. They must not only proclaim that no system of Protection, no matter under what name and pretences it may be imposed, can possibly effect any improvement in the condition of the masses of the labouring classes; but must also admit that no system of Free Trade can do so as long as the monopoly of land as at present established in Great Britain is allowed to continue. This is the one inspiring truth that the progress of economics in the last century has revealed to us. It is the duty of every true Progressive to shape his political aspirations and to determine his political activities in accordance therewith. And it is this truth which your admirable article abundantly confirms.

May we express the hope that many more of our co-workers during the coming autumn and winter months will find an outlet for their energies in letters to the local press. Such letters, we know, often do much good and arouse much comment. Moreover, the enemy is at our gates, and all our efforts will be required to repel him.

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"IS THE CHURCH LOSING ITS HOLD ON THE WORKING CLASSES?"—In a reply to the Rev. Professor Denny, U.F. Church College, who recently contributed an

article on the above subject to the *Union Magazine*, "M. G." wrote:—

"If the Church finds it difficult to get the poor to come within its fold, on account of the evils and temptations which surround them through their poverty, and to which they too often succumb, would it not be a noble thing to help to give effect to a scheme of justice, by which they could, after accepting the gospel message, be delivered from the pit of poverty, without humiliating them by the bestowal of charitable doles? Would it not be a yet nobler and more God-like thing to make such a scheme embrace all our poor without exception? If you could bring yourself to consider the substantial fact, that the great bulk of our poor are groaning under a species of economic slavery, whether they are aware of it or not, and which is not of their seeking, and that the mere changing of their hearts has nothing at all to do with the factors which tend to keep them in that slavery, I think you would perhaps begin to see that you had not yet got to the root of the matter. The Christ said "Take no thought for the morrow," and "Labour not for the meat that perisheth," and he said well, but did His words not imply that there was enough and to spare for all, and yet we know that there are thousands in our city and millions in our land, not to speak of other lands, who neither by taking thought nor by labour, can obtain anything like a sufficiency of food or clothing from day to day. Mr. Seebohm Rowntree states that in the towns of this country alone, there are seven millions of people dependent upon wages of 23/ per week and under, and yet this is called a rich, not to say a Christian country. Surely there is something very far wrong here, and I think the late Professor Thorold Rogers has pointed out very clearly in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages" what it is. Henry George also traced the trouble to its root, and what is better, he pointed out a remedy which is gradually and surely commending itself all over the world to lovers of justice and to those people who are least affected by materialistic ideals, unless you except the materialistic ideals involved in the words of Nehemiah, when he said "I pray you, let us leave off this usury," or in the royal law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

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IN ANTICIPATION.—*The Property Market Review* contains the following advertisement—

#### Freehold Bonded Estate.

Believing that a general revival will take place in Agricultural Land, owing to the probability of

#### "New Fiscal Laws."

we are desirous of obtaining particulars of Freehold Properties for Sale, with a view to immediate purchase. Owners will facilitate business by giving fullest possible details, and in each case the lowest price for cash. Mortgages on this class of security are also effected without delay.

London and Paris Exchange, Ltd., General Bankers, Basildon House Bank, London, E.C.

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Owing to pressure of business Mr. Chamberlain in reply to a correspondent, who directed his attention to the vast difference between his speech in Glasgow in 1884, when he advocated the restoration of natural rights, and the one delivered in the same hall last month, finds himself "unable to reply personally to letters addressed to him on political questions."

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When Pope Gregory sent Augustine the monk to baptise the heathen English, we wonder whether he foresaw this sort of thing? We quote an advertisement which lately appeared in a Kentish paper. It would be a pity to spoil it by any comment:—

A LOCALITY RICH IN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS,  
Being undisputedly the Birthplace of Christianity in this Country!

#### LAND SALES

Will be held on the Beautiful  
MINSTER CLIFFS ESTATE,  
ON EVERY TUESDAY IN SEPTEMBER.

The Young Scots' Society have published in pamphlet form a lecture on "Burdens affecting Land in Scotland" by the late John Blair, W.S., Edinburgh. All interested in the land question should procure a copy. Single Taxers and advocates of the taxation of land values will find the lecture a powerful defence of their contention.

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We welcome the appearance of a new progressive monthly magazine, *The Independent Review*. The first number contains several interesting and able articles on various subjects. The editorial article, "A Plea for a Programme," indicates that men are awakening to the need for the exposition of the true principles of Liberalism. We have seldom read anything which shows a clearer grasp of a political situation, and at the same time a fairer spirit in treating it. While we may, perhaps, think that the programme is slightly overloaded, we agree with the position taken on every question. We quote the following as being of most interest to our readers:—

"One clear task for the party of progress is so to arrange taxation that its weight shall fall as lightly as possible on those whose wealth is the product of their labour, and as heavily as possible on those whose wealth is produced by the labour of others; and, further, that State burdens shall be proportioned to the capacity of those who are to bear them. Towards this end we have ready to hand a guide in the Minority Report of the Commission on Local Rating; the proposal there made is to separate, for purposes of taxation, the site value of urban land from the value of buildings upon it, to assess the former at a higher rate than the latter, and to apply this assessment to all urban land, whether it happens to be built upon or not. This modest and reasonable proposal should be taken as the basis of legislation. It could and should be applied to the country as well as to the town, there being no reason for any difference of treatment between rural and urban land; and it is also desirable that the tax on buildings should be removed altogether, so that the whole burden may fall on the site value. But even as it stands, the proposal is worth fighting for with all the strength of the party of progress, since it does embody the principles that some part of the wealth produced solely by the energy of the community should be taken for the benefit of the community producing it, and that industry should be penalised less than it is at present by the imposition of burdens. A further result of the proposal, of which we shall have more to say in a later issue, is that by taxing land at its true site value it would make it less profitable for owners to keep their estates vacant for speculative and other reasons, and would thereby increase the amount of land available for building, and facilitate the acquisition of public spaces by the community."

"England hath been famous throughout all Christendom by the name of Merrie England; but covetous enclosers have taken this joy and mirth away; so that it may be now called sighing or sorrowful England."—*Francis Trigge* (1604).

#### EVERY VOTER SHOULD READ

### "TALKING IT OVER:

Mr. Chamberlain's Visit to John Workman."

By J. MIDDLETON of Oldham.

A Brilliant Analysis of Mr. Chamberlain's Proposals.  
A Child could understand it.  
Should be circulated widely in every Constituency.

Published by

THE NATIONAL REFORM UNION,  
50 Haworth's Buildings, Cross St., MANCHESTER.

## HENRY GEORGE'S WORK.

From an Australian viewpoint by JOHN FARRELL in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, 11/7/03

SOMEWHERE in the later eighties a copy of "Progress and Poverty" reached the inland town of Forbes, and was passed from hand to hand among a few. The logic and the fervor of it inflamed them to immediate action. Here was political economy with humanity and hope in it; here was "the dismal science" transformed into a message of deliverance for the weary and heavy-laden of the world, and made more scientific. Henry George had analysed the contentions and tested the investigations of the men who, until then, had been accepted as authoritative and final in their pronouncement upon the majority of mankind of the doom of incessant toil and incessant deprivation; of Adam Smith, Bentham, Malthus. He had summed up against their main conclusions on grounds of pure reason; he had made it apparent to those who could put aside inherited formulæ of judgment and re-consider the whole subject in the light of a new presentation, that there was no enemy to the material and moral well-being of all men but Ignorance, that labour and capital were not opposed in their interests, but were equally oppressed by the exactions of monopoly, and that, if the requirements of equitable relationship between man and man were not enforced in man-made laws, there need be "no unemployed problem," no haunting anxiety among millions about next week's food supply, no strife between capitalist and employee for the crumbs which fall from the richly-loaded table of monopoly.

#### So the few men of Forbes who read "Progress and Poverty"

in those early days believed. They met of evenings, and every point of George's case was, as Iago puts it, "disputed on." They glowed with the desire to publish abroad the glad tidings; they blazed together; they founded the first Land Nationalisation League in this State. A couple of years later a newspaper to advocate Henry George's system of government had been established at Lithgow, which was afterwards transferred to Sydney, where for some years it was continued on the same lines. In April, 1889, the first Conference of the Land Nationalisation League was held in Sydney, representing branches in Adelaide, Melbourne, Brisbane, Bathurst, Condobolin, Crookwell, Echuca, Forbes, Goulburn, Grafton, Granville, Lithgow, Nymagee, Sydney, Wagga, and Wellington. At this Conference the name of the organisation was changed to that of the Single Tax League, as better expressing the method by which it was sought to bring about the reform desired, and the idea of inviting Henry George to visit Australia took practical shape.

#### Mr. George agreed to come,

abandoning for that purpose a projected tour of the United States. Throughout the Australian cities which he visited his welcome was most enthusiastic. He was accorded a public reception at the Town Hall, attended by the most prominent public men of this State, after having been driven thither from Circular Quay in a drag supplied by a converted protectionist. His opening lecture was delivered before an immense audience at the Exhibition building on the wet, wild night of March 8, 1890. Thereafter he spoke to crowds in many of the inland towns of New South Wales and South Australia. In Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane, as in Sydney, his utterances were fully reported in the daily press. The educational value of the tour was to some extent expressed in a much clearer public comprehension of the purpose and scheme of the single tax movement than prevailed before it was undertaken. Clarity of thought, deliberation, precision of statement, were the notable characteristics of Mr. George as a public speaker. He told the present writer that the hardest trial of his life was passed through in his earlier efforts to address a public audience with some degree of calmness and self-control. But he had long overpassed

the period of stage fear when he came among us, and was one of the best speakers ever heard on an Australian platform. He schooled himself inflexibly to say the thing he intended to say and that only. If the right form of words did not at once present itself, he did not indulge in oratorical "sparring for wind" by the use of waste talk. He paused, perhaps for a whole minute, until the required phrase was at his command. This accuracy and absence of word-padding made him a high favourite with reporters; his addresses as taken down were almost invariably fit for transference into print, without any trimming whatever.

#### I think all those who came to close quarters with Henry George

during the few months of his stay in Australia must agree entirely with the general estimate of him held in America as a high-minded, simple, lovable man, inspired by the noblest humanitarian ideals, coldly logical as a controversialist, passionate with lofty eloquence as a preacher of righteousness. It was the writer's privilege to be in his company a good deal, especially during the South Australian portion of his tour. There were opportunities enough to see him behind the scenes, so to speak, but he really never was there. In the public view and in private he was the same man, of boundless compassion, deeply moved by the pathos of pain and suffering endured by others, modest in his own requirements and enjoyments, unconventional in small matters, without eccentricity or ostentation. No great reform ever had a worthier leader. "His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world, 'This was a man.'"

#### What of his Work?

There have been national fervors of belief before our day, great emotional upheavals of sentiment, founded on hopes that bore no fruit, and conditions that were misunderstood. The overwhelming power and passion of many passages of "Progress and Poverty," the intensity of its appeal, especially in the final chapters, to the highest motives of the mind and impulses of the heart, might well have to answer for the universal enthusiasm which, within a few years, translated the book into the principal languages of mankind.

Mr. Farrell goes on to explain the progress made since Henry George's Australian visit in the colonies, the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, Japan, and other countries. It would require, as the writer says, in closing a very readable article, many additional columns of print to detail the principal among the steps taken towards the realisation of Henry George's ideal of the way, the only way, in which the rewards to both labour and capital can be assured of continual growth, as the lock-out against them is broken through at an increasing number of points, and the material without which they cannot produce made more and more available. The fight for the freedom from the blackmailing and the hindrance of rent exactions which have no warrant in justice or natural law is a new and a tremendous feature of our time. It is a growth of the past twenty years.

"I have heard of an old prophesy—Horn and thorn shall make England forlorn. Enclosers verify this by their sheep and hedges at this day. They kill poor men's hearts by taking from them their ancient commons to make sheep-pastures of; and by imposing upon them great rents and by decaying tillage; so that now they are forlorn, having no joy to live in the world."—Francis Trigge (1604).

Child labour is increasing in Illinois and the country at large by leaps and bounds. An army of 1,750,000 little men and little women is marching every morning into our factories—some of them, worse yet, go in at night! Our industrial system is a heart which pumps in and out every day a stream of youthful blood, steadily growing feebler, darker, and more degenerate.—Star, Frisco.

## "TALKING IT OVER."

## MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S VISIT TO JOHN WORKMAN.

"Talking it Over," by J. Middleton of Oldham, published by the National Reform Union of Manchester, is certainly the best pamphlet on the fiscal issue the present crisis has produced. In a speech in the House of Commons, in May last, Mr. Chamberlain said—"I am prepared to go into any mechanic's house and say: 'Now this policy, if it is carried out, will cost you so much a week more than you are paying at present for your food.' We do not know whether Mr. Chamberlain ever carried out his proposal, but the author takes him at his word, and fairly and convincingly represents the sort of conversation that would have been likely to have taken place. The following extracts should suffice to indicate the style and reasoning of this brilliant little pamphlet, which should be on sale at every meeting on the question.

## Who's to Pay?

"To get at the heart of the subject at once, my proposal is that we shall give the Colonies a Preference in Trade—that we shall buy from them instead of from the foreigners," began Mr. Chamberlain.

"Hold on a minute," interrupted Workman; "don't we take all they send us now?"

"Oh, certainly we do."

"An' shouldn't we take more o' their stuff if they sent it?" was the next query.

"Of course we should," said Mr. Chamberlain.

"Then why don't they send it?"

"I'm afraid you are getting on a little too fast, Mr. Workman. I was explaining that I want to give our Colonies a better chance than we give to the foreigner."

"I took that in, Mr. Chamberlain; but if we buy everything they send, and are ready for more, I don't see what they can expect beside!"

"Well, I will try to show you. If we buy from them in preference to the foreigner, they will be encouraged to produce more, and then they can send us more. Don't you see?"

"Not yet. I don't see how they'd grow more, to send us more, unless we give 'em more for it."

"Precisely so, that is exactly what I mean. I will show you how it can be done. At present we accept everybody's goods on equal terms. I would put a duty on what comes from the foreigner, but what comes from the Colonists I would let in free. The Colonists would thus be encouraged to grow more and send us more."

"But if they didn't get any more for what they sent, what worth would your preference be?"

"Oh, but I think they would get a better price."

"An' if they did, who's to pay?" eagerly asked Workman.

Mr. Chamberlain apparently could not understand the attitude of John Workman. This ever-recurring question of "Who's to pay?" seemed selfish and sordid. But still it was there, and if he was to make anything of this man it would have to be grappled with.

"I have a table here which shows exactly what your kitchen bill amounts to now, and what it would be if these various articles were subject to a small tax. Your weekly bill now amounts to 12/, and I must say you get a great deal for it. Under my tariff it would be 13/, the extra shilling being for taxes on food. At the outside, therefore, it would mean the payment of a shilling a week."

"Now we are coming to an understandin'. If that shillin' is put in my bill, I shall have to pay both the bill an' the shillin'," said Workman.

"Again, my friend, don't be hasty. I have not told you everything that I propose to do. But supposing you did have to pay the shilling. There are six of you in the family, and it is only 2d. per week per head," argued Mr. Chamberlain.

"That isn't so much to you, perhaps, but a shillin' a week is a lump to me. I know my wife would think so, if my wage were risen a shillin' a week," said Workman. "If I reckon it up correct, it's same as an income tax of 1s. 8d. i' th' pound, an' I think that's heavy."

"Yes, but you see, it is not charged upon your income, but on your expenditure," said Mr. Chamberlain.

"Same thing in my case. My expenditure is my income, because it takes it all to keep us goin'. Besides, I'm payin' now 6d. a week on sugar an' tea, an' your tax would make it 2s. 2d. in the pound. Don't you think that's a bit rough on a factory fellow?"

"Yes, Mr. Workman, put in that bald way it is. I am bound to admit that 2s. 2d. in the pound is a heavy tax."

"An' when it's your only pound, it's heavier still, isn't it?"

"Yes, I must admit that, too."

"Then why do want to make it heavier?"

"Ah, there are other things to be considered, my friend; larger issues, greater possibilities, have to be taken into account."

"Mr. Chamberlain, there is no larger issue for anybody than keepin' his wife and children and hisself alive an' in good health. If I'm to pay a shillin' more in taxes, it means I've a shillin' less to spend, an' I'm not goin' to pinch them to please you."

"Don't get cross, Mr. Workman. I assure you that the taxes on food will be borne partly by the American and other producers, and partly by the American railway companies."

"Well, it's very good of em' to do it. It's more than I'd do for them, an' I wish 'em no harm. But if it is as you say, why do you talk about a little tax? If they're going to pay it, make it as big as you like. Now I come to think on it, that's a capital idea. If import duties have to be paid by the foreigners, let's put a duty on everythin'. It would be a fine lark to make Americans, and French, and Russians, and Germans—especially them Germans—pay our taxes for us. It 'ud be like livin' rent free. That's the best tip you've mentioned yet, Mr. Chamberlain. If you can work that off, you'll have income-tax payers, smokers, tea drinkers, an' other drinkers all on your side. By Jove, you would have a majority!"

## TOM JOHNSON'S WAY.

In accepting the nomination for governor of Ohio Tom L. Johnson made this characteristic speech:—

"I was surprised to hear to-day some men on this platform defend the action of eight men who we think deserted the Democratic party. I was surprised to hear that they had something to say about the effect of a Red Devil campaign. My friends, you may call it a Red Devil campaign or call it what you like, but the campaign in Richland county against renegade Democrats will be carried on, so help me God, in the State of Ohio." (Loud and long-continued applause and cheers, the delegates rising to their feet, waving hats, coats, and canes, and cheering vociferously.)

"If we are to win—if we are to win the great battle, if great contests are to be won, it has to be won first, my friends, by getting rid of the dead timber that hangs around your neck—(great applause and cries of 'You are right!')—and taking on the living timber, my friends, that only wants to be collected into a party standing for some principle." (Great applause.)

"I never asked anybody in my life to vote for me for any office or for any nomination, and I never will, but, my friends, I have asked some people not to vote for me, and I say to-day, men who do not believe in the platform read here to-day, men who do not think that that platform stands for the Democratic idea, I ask them not to vote for me." Cries of "Good!" and "Right you are!"—*San Francisco Star.*

# LAND VALUES.

Established June 1894, and published till May 1902, as "The Single Tax."

Published the beginning of each month at 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow; and 376-377 Strand, London, W.C.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

By Post in Great Britain and Ireland, 1/6 per annum; Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, 2/- per annum; Canada, United States, and South America, 50 cents. Payable in advance.

All Communications to be addressed to THE EDITOR, 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow. CORPORATION TELEPHONE, No. 1146.

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### "OUR POLICY."

"We would simply take for the community what belongs to the community—the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community; leave sacred to the individual all that belongs to the individual."—Henry George.

### MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S POSITION AND OURS.

In the thick of a battle he who spent much time in looking for a weapon or a position, or in estimating whether his victory should, or should not, fall short of being complete, would prove of doubtful assistance. We are moving swiftly and steadily into a great struggle, a struggle with powers which seem to be irresistible, and are indeed terrible in all their outward circumstance. The choice of ground, the choice of weapons is important.

For the ground we have the same field in which, from the most remote antiquity, politicians have waged their wars, we have human nature. Different leaders in different ages have ranged over this field; many of them have explored its breadth and depth and have chosen the low places for their station; few of them have explored the heights and taken their stand on them. There are few pages in history which do not afford a record of battles fought out on the lowest plains of this ground. The plains lie within easy reach of all, and, thanks to their guides, men are confined strictly to them, being prevented from wandering on to the higher stretches. Hence the muddy and filthy state of the ground, the abomination and sordidness of politics.

There have been times in history when the squalor, the vulgarity, in the political world were only comparable to the conditions in the lowest slums of our cities. Members of the political world, crying out for truth, pure aspirations, freedom, were supplied with empty speeches, beastly and brutalising exhortations, and ideals of the prison, just as in the slums they are starved, deprived of pure air, and taught to be content with their shameful condition. These times are with us again. For several years political ideals have been of the lowest kind. Men have revelled in revenge, in getting the better of those whom they imagined to have wronged them; and now Mr. Chamberlain has come to give larger scope and play to this spirit. There are those who think, or who pretend to think, that his present proposals are inconsistent with his action in South Africa. They are either mistaken or dishonest. The same passions were appealed to, the same objects set in view in the one case as in the other. "Retaliation" and "A Great Empire" were and are the watchwords. We are so oblivious of facts that we do not realise that although thousands of square miles have been added to our territory, yet nine-tenths of us have no share in it.

Again we are hurried away to retaliate, and this time the rewards are put forward with an effrontery and shamelessness which are only equalled by their meanness. Mr. Chamberlain says that his policy "will benefit not merely the great farmer, but it will benefit the little man, the small owner of a plot, or even the allotment owner who keeps a single pig. . . . Where an agricultural labourer keeps one pig now he might keep two in the future. . . . The agricultural labourer would be half a farthing per week to the better, and the artisan would be exactly the same." What a conception of his fellow-citizens must the man have who makes this proposal, and yet he is called a great man! Out of the greatness and wealth of this greatest of Empires Mr. Chamberlain is offering as much to its citizens as the peasant's child out of its scanty store offers to the starving dog! The men of Britain may be degraded, but we hope that in their own house they will not be contented with a dog's reward.

Then, as if that were not enough, Mr. Chamberlain says that he is going to give men more work, working on the deep-rooted fallacy that men desire work for work's sake, or even for the sake of a hypothetical 30/- per week. Here, again, Mr. Chamberlain has taken low ground, offering to people who are already overworked more of that which is their bane. In his one-sided argument for his one-sided proposal with its one-sided result, he does not speak of giving work to those who at present do no work.

But, as if he were conscious of the weakness of his ground he recurs to the old cry that has served so well. "I appeal to something higher," he says, "I appeal to you as fellow-citizens of the greatest Empire that the



world has ever known. . . . I say to you that all that is best in our present life, best in this Britain of OURS, all of which we have the right to be most proud, is due to the fact that we are not only sons of Britain, but we are sons of Empire also." This argument, like the last, is inherently weak and one-sided. Empire implies its correlative Servitude. A sharp, dividing line runs through what they are pleased to call "the Empire" separating the men who wield the power of Empire from those who are subject to that power. "Sons of Empire" in Chamberlain's sense are, in most cases, sons of slavery who, placed beside horses or any working animal, have the hardest work in proportion to their strength, work which drains the life from their systems before they are well grown.

As to the means by which Mr. Chamberlain would realise his proposals. He would put a tax of 2/ per quarter on foreign corn, a much heavier tax on flour, a tax on foreign wines and fruits, a tax of 5 per cent. on foreign meat and dairy produce, and a tax of 10 per cent. on foreign manufactured goods.

This is Mr. Chamberlain's position. We are not inclined to treat it lightly as has been abundantly done, although we perceive the grotesquely comic side of this play in which he is now chief actor. The chorus of the play, the wail of Britain's unmeasured misery, reminds us how serious, how tragic are the issues at stake. Of one thing we are convinced. To a party of men, even a small party, prepared to push the principle of Free Trade to its logical conclusion, to occupy higher ground, to appeal to all in man that is above being satisfied with petty doles of farthings and bacon, big loaves and little loaves, above retaliation and Empire, to that impulse under whose influence the spirit of man sees Justice in its simple strength making plain those distinctions and difficulties so easily fostered and magnified by unscrupulous leaders—to such a party of men Mr. Chamberlain's strength would be weakness itself.

We shall contrast our position with Mr. Chamberlain's, believing as we do that it is more practical more reasonable, more moral, and to use his own words, easier to be "understood of the people." Throughout his speeches, both in his language and in the choice of goods on which to impose a tax, or which he would exempt from taxation, there is implicit the acknowledgment that taxation hinders production. Yet he proposes to extend this restraining influence, to fasten the dead weight of taxes on a great many more industries, and then from the diminished returns to give the working men a few farthings more. Now, if less wealth is to be produced, who is going to suffer? The producers, the labourers, are going to get a greater reward, and so the non-producers, the land-owners, must lose. This is a *reductio ad absurdum*. No arbitrary dictum of any statesman, however great, can raise wages if production is diminished, nor under any other condition, but the

taking of land values to meet those expenses which are now paid by the restrictive taxes on goods will allow wealth to increase. Further, it will enable the labourer to get more of this increased wealth because, while it leaves to him that share of his wages which he formerly paid in taxation, it brings to him a freer opportunity to use the land in order to produce more wealth. His reward, if the total sum of the land values of the country were taken to bear the burdens of Government, would be all that he produced. This simply means that land-owners would cease to exist, that instead of 600,000 men being blessed with work, every man in the country would get a share of the blessing, and at the same time, according as he worked, would partake in that article which seems to be so undesirable—wealth. Under the reign of this even-handed Justice the little, strutting, usurping gods would find something better to do than to caricature the laws of Nature.

But let us away from squalor to the higher argument. What is "the height of this great argument?" Empire! It is an old argument. We shall give it an old answer. For our encouragement Plutarch, in his life of Tiberius Gracchus, tells us how that Roman "was terrible and invincible when he came forward to speak about the poor to the people as they thronged about the platform," and he gives us part of a speech as follows:—"The wild beasts of Italy have a den, and for each of them there is a sleeping-place and a place to lie down, but for those who fight and die on behalf of Italy there is a share of the air and light and of nothing else. Yea! without home, and without fixed place of abode they wander with their children and wives, and the leaders deceive the soldiers in battle when they exhort them to guard their tombs and temples against the enemy; for not one of all these many Romans has a family altar or an ancestral tomb, but they fight to maintain the luxury and wealth of others, and while they are called the masters of the world, they have not a clod to call their own." This is what empire means.

We take our stand with Gracchus, and with all those men who, since his day, have made it their aim to break the bonds, the fetters of Empire, and to allow the natural bonds of brotherhood and equality to grow. We take our stand with the last of them, with Henry George who has made it possible for us to realise this ideal. The land values of this country amount to £180,000,000 per annum. This is a low estimate. A tax of 10 per cent., of 2/ in the £, would bring £18,000,000. We would not stop there, but go on until we had taken all land values, and had left men entirely free from artificial restrictions in the production of wealth.

Why should we hesitate or be timid? We would appeal to, and trust, the highest part of human nature; we would prefer to base our political and economic system on that generous and god-like spirit in mankind which embraces and softens differences rather than on the narrow, exclusive spirit which calls them into being. A system thus established would bear more magnanimous rewards even down to what men call the meanest details of life. Let us aim at this high ideal working constantly to realise it by means of our magnificent instrument—The Taxation of Land Values.

J. O.

## ENGLISH NEWS AND NOTES.

[All communications respecting this column should be sent to the General Secretary, English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 376 and 377 Strand, London, W.C.]

The Executive acknowledges, with grateful thanks, a donation of £100, from Mrs. Charles Thursby, towards the cost of the active propaganda now being carried on by the League. It is hoped that Mrs. Thursby's generous contribution will encourage other members to provide the means for still further extending the operations of the League.

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A lady, sending a donation of £1 from a West London address, writes:—"A brief while since I was privileged to be present at one of your meetings, and was greatly interested in some of the theories there propounded. I may say that I approach the subject primarily from the point of view of the Housing Question (a matter in which I have been interested for some years), and many points brought forward at the meeting struck me as being specially germane to the above controversy. No doubt much has been done, and is now in process of doing, to improve housing conditions, but until land is taxed in some proportion to its realisable value I do not see how any *efficient progress* in the Housing Question can be hoped for, or how any of the remedies now proposed can be placed on a sound commercial basis, or be made of permanent value to the community. Until we, who are hoping for better times in the home lives of the working people, are prepared frankly to accept fundamental conditions and to improve *them*, I fear that much of the labour spent will be wasted in a rather 'tinkering' process, satisfactory neither to the originators nor to those supposed to be benefited."

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The first chapter of Dr. Dundas White's book (largely quoted in last month's *Land Values*) has been reprinted as a penny pamphlet under the title of "Land Law Reform, based on taxing Land Values and not taxing Improvements." Copies may be had from the Office of the League, price one penny, or 5/ per 100, carriage forward.

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On Tuesday, September 29th, about fifty members and friends of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values gathered together at an informal dinner held at the Villa Restaurant, Gerrard Street, London, W., to do honour to the memory of Henry George. Mr. Alfred Billson, President of the League, occupied the chair, and amongst those present were Messrs. H. S. Murray (Galashiels), Henry S. Taylor (South Australia), — Dickets (Pietermaritzburg), Wm. Mather (Editor of the *Johannesburg Tribune*), Rev. Thos. Hill (North Somercotes), Rev. Harold Rylett (Editor of *The New Age*), Rev. A. C. Auchmuty (Herefordshire), Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, M.L.S.B.; W. A. Wilson (Vancouver); Crompton Ll. Davies (Past President of the League), L. H. Berens; as well as Mrs. Charles Thursby, Mrs. Berens, Miss Verinder, and many other ladies. Letters or telegrams, expressing regret for unavoidable absence, were received from the Dean of Durham, Mr. T. F. Walker (Birmingham), Rev. Dr. Thackeray, Mr. Albert Spicer, and others.

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After full justice had been done to a very excellent dinner, the Chairman rose to propose the toast of the evening, "The Memory of Henry George." The presence of friends from so many different parts of the world demonstrated, he said, if demonstration were necessary, the universality of the movement associated with the name of the man they had assembled to honour. Few men, he continued, loomed so large on history's page, few had exercised more force of intellect, more power of imagination, and few had more fully impressed their ideas not only on his own generation but on the generations to come. There were few men, indeed, to whom, in his opinion, the world owed so much. The

problem that haunted his mind, and which, in the opinion not only of all those gathered together that evening but of a steadily increasing number of thoughtful men in every part of the world, he had successfully solved, was how to account for the fact that poverty seemed the inevitable accompaniment of progress, despite the gigantic increase in productive power which this progress had evolved. The truth, of course, was that those who worked had never been allowed to reap the full harvest of their own industrial activities; and that for the simple reason that "the field of all labour and the source of all wealth," the land, had been regarded and treated as the private property and heirloom of a privileged class. By reason of this the wealth labour produced in such abundance was legally taken from them to enrich those who took no part in their toil. The most practical, simple, and effective remedy was, he declared amidst cheers, the taxation of land values. And he concluded a most inspiring speech by expressing the conviction that the Liberal Party of the near future would be compelled to take up this question as one of most urgent importance.

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In giving the toast of "Our Cause," Mr. Crompton Llewellyn Davis spoke of monopoly as the one word which best described the means by which the workers were to-day deprived of the full fruits of their toil. The Taxation of Land Values, he contended, would kill monopoly, stimulate industry, and tend to raise wages. In responding to the toast, Mr. Lewis H. Berens, Hon. Treasurer of the League, maintained that Justice, or the recognition of the equal claims of all to life, and consequently to the use of the land, by means of which alone life could be maintained, formed the basis of their demands. He dwelt upon the satisfactory progress of their cause throughout the civilized world; and in conclusion appealed for help to enable the League to carry on the important and necessary work upon which they were just now concentrating their efforts, viz., the sale of Henry George's great work "Protection or Free Trade." He also expressed his sense of the gratitude they owed to the *London Daily News* for its advocacy of the Taxation of Land Values in recent issues, and his hope that this great Liberal organ would continue to render them its valuable aid in the very uphill work on which they were engaged.

\* \* \*

The Rev. Harold Rylett (Editor of *The New Age*) proposed the toast of "Our Co-workers at home and abroad," and in doing so commented on the satisfactory signs of steady progress he had found during his recent visit to the great Dominion of Canada. There, as elsewhere, he contended, their cause was steadily gaining ground amongst the more thoughtful and ethical-minded of their race. Messrs. H. S. Murray (of Galashiels) and H. S. Taylor (of South Australia) responded to the toast, and added their testimony to the steady growth of the movement. The toast of "Our President," admirably proposed by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, brought the formal business of the evening to a close. The gathering was unanimously voted a great success, and from all sides the hope was heard that such gatherings should be held at least once a year. We do not doubt but that our active and enthusiastic members and co-workers in the Metropolis will henceforth annually gather together, and we hope in ever-increasing numbers, to do honour to the memory of our great master, Henry George.

\* \* \*

A working man in Hertfordshire, a member of the League, to whom a parcel of leaflets was supplied, writes:—"On Saturday I went to every other house in the most thickly populated part of this parish and left a leaflet at each. Yesterday I went to a political meeting (where the Liberal candidate gave his first speech) and distributed all the leaflets I had left and the specimen copies of *Land Values*. The large bills (advertising "Protection or Free Trade") I have given to booksellers. I am trying to make arrange-

ments with the Liberal Association to have books on sale at their next public meeting. I wish you would send me some more leaflets, as I will give my Saturday evenings for distributing them within 2 or 3 miles radius of where I live, and if I can push the cause forward in this way I shall be only too glad to do so. . . . Excuse bad spelling and grammar, but these are two of my greatest hindrances, which I am doing my utmost to conquer, so that I may then be able to make myself of a little more use to our cause."

\* \* \*

Mr. F. Skirrow, the Yorkshire agent of the League, has been holding some successful meetings, followed by good discussions, and brisk sales of literature. He lectured, on October 7th, at the Liberal Club, Wilsden; 13th, East Ward Liberal Club, Bradford; 16th, Mutual Improvement Class, Heaton; 17th, Liberal Club, Todmorden. Applications for lectures in the Yorkshire district should be made to Mr. Skirrow, 59 Fell Lane, Keighley.

\* \* \*

A Yorkshire member of the League writes enthusiastically about Mr. Skirrow's work, which he has special opportunities of observing, and adds the following which he will readily forgive us for quoting *pour encourager les autres*: "I too have recently had opportunities of assuming the rôle of missionary in the good cause. Last week, I verbally reviewed the whole of 'Protection or Free Trade' for one of the clubs in the Elland Division, and was gratified at the close of the meeting by twenty-five members giving in their names to start a class for the weekly study, chapter by chapter, of the book. They each bought a copy. On Tuesday, I am to speak at a meeting in the Skipton Division, and on Thursday I start a series of four lectures I have promised to give on 'Protection or Free Trade' at one of the Liberal Clubs in Halifax."

\* \* \*

The quarterly meeting of the Central Council of the League was held at the Office, 376 Strand, on Monday, October 19. After a few opening remarks by the Chairman, Mr. Crompton L. Davies, the General Secretary, made his report of work done during the past three months, and the Treasurer presented a detailed statement of income and expenditure during the same period. Much satisfaction was expressed at the large increase in the income from subscriptions and donations (about £300), and from sales of literature (£225), as compared with the corresponding quarter of last year. A special vote of thanks to the Treasurer and Secretary for their work in connection with the re-issue of Henry George's "Protection of Free Trade" was carried, and the reports were adopted. A general wish was expressed by the members of the Council that a "Henry George dinner" should become an "annual fixture" in the League's programme. A draft circular to Parliamentary candidates was submitted by the executive, discussed, approved, and ordered to be issued. The executive were instructed to prepare and issue a short statement of the League's position on the Fiscal Question. The next ordinary meeting of the Council was appointed for Monday, January 18th, 1904.

\* \* \*

The Dean of Durham, who, being in residence, could not attend the Council meeting, wrote:—"The fortunes of the Land Taxers are critical and most promising. It looks as if the next Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer must turn to the Land Tax to bring things right. So out of evil comes good. They have compelled us by extravagance."

FRED. VERINDER, *Gen. Secy., E.L.T.L.V.*

"It is much easier to think of God as dealing with Israel and Egypt, Assyria and Babylon, Greece and Rome, than to think of Him as ruling and judging the United States, Great Britain and Russia. It is much easier to think of Him as sustaining personal relations to Abraham, Moses and David, than to believe that He has a plan of life for you and me."  
—*Josiah Strong in "The Next Awakening."*

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

### SMALL HOLDINGS.

"Ten years' working of the Small Holdings Act, as shown by the returns we publish elsewhere, makes rather poor reading. An area of not much more than five hundred and fifty acres was acquired and distributed in the whole of England, and only eight County Councils availed themselves of the provisions of the Act. The powers given by the Act are by no means great; the administration of the option is not in the hands of those willing to exercise it, and the land of the country is still too firmly held in large parcels by rich owners. As landowners, these people are not taxed, and it costs them nothing from year to year to hold their land, in the hope that building values may be accumulated upon it. If the nation is in want of money there is no source to which it should go with more confidence than to its land values. As surely as a tax upon wheat and flour raises the price of bread, so surely a tax on land values lowers the price of land, and, therefore, of all other commodities. If a small tax were levied in this direction, we should soon have a better story to tell of the extent to which the Small Holdings Acts have been administered."—*London Daily News*, 29th September, 1903.

### "WHAT WE STAND FOR."

In its issue of Monday, September 28th, the *London Daily News*, concluded an article, under the above heading, with the following suggestive and inspiring words:—

"Finally, the Liberal Party throughout the country have realised that the land is the bedrock of the State, and that the freedom of the land is as necessary to our existence as the freedom of trade. Cobden saw that. In his mind even the fraud and injustice of the Corn Laws were less black than the fraud and injustice of land taxation. Had he been a young man, he once said, he would have taken Mill in one hand and Adam Smith in the other and stumped the country to preach the application of Free Trade principles to the land. For a hundred and fifty years after the Conquest the whole revenue of this country was raised from the land. The gradual shifting of the burden from the land went on through the centuries until in Cobden's day its share, represented by the land tax of four shillings in the £, levied on the values of 150 years before, amounted to only one twenty-fifth of the revenue of the State. That was fifty years ago. What is its share to-day? One 186th. It provides three-quarters of a million out of a revenue of one hundred and forty millions! The Liberal Party has something to do besides standing by Cobden's great achievement. It must carry out Cobden's great legacy. 'I hope to see,' he said, 'societies formed calling upon the Legislature to revalue the land, and put a taxation upon it in proportion to the wants of the State.' That is what the next Liberal Government have to do. That is the reply we have to make to Mr. Chamberlain's attack on Free Trade. With the millions that will accrue from the taxation of land values we shall not only solve the problem of national revenue; but we shall be able to cheapen tea and tobacco without raising the price of bread, and we shall have ample to provide the old age pensions which were offered as a bait when Mr. Chamberlain introduced his Protection scheme. Let our reply be to complete Richard Cobden's work and to add Free Land to Free Trade. Liberalism can never have a greater cause; the country was never more ripe for a great reform. The coming autumn campaign should make that reform the cardinal theme in every liberal speech."

\* \* \*

It is to be hoped that Liberals generally will everywhere follow the sound advice here tendered them by this recognised organ of modern Liberal thought.

### Scottish Notes and News.

[Scottish readers of *Land Values* are invited to send news for this column. Reports of meetings, or any reference by public men, or public bodies, to the land question, or the taxation of land values will be appreciated.]

Mr. Wm. R. Lester, of the Scottish Single Tax League, is a Candidate for the Town Council of Glasgow. He is standing for the 25th (Maryhill) Ward. The Election takes place, Tuesday, 3rd November, and friends free to render any assistance on the polling day, or before, are earnestly asked to call at the committee rooms, 411 Gairbraid Street, Maryhill, or at 13 Dundas Street.

\* \* \*

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Taylor, on the eve of their departure for South Australia, send greetings to Glasgow co-workers.

The Political Economy Class, 13 Dundas Street, 1903-4, was formally opened, Wednesday, 7th October, by Mr. Wm. Reid, who delivered the opening lecture on "The Nature and Scope of Political Economy." There was a good attendance, and the lecture was highly appreciated. Mr. Reid delivered the second lecture, 14th October. Mr. John Cassels delivered the third and fourth lecture on "The Meaning of the Terms." These meetings are open to all interested. Free discussion and questions are invited.

Meetings were addressed last month at Falkirk Young Scots Society; Bridge of Weir Liberal Association, by ex-Bailie Burt; Kirkintilloch Liberal Association, Wm. D. Hamilton and John Paul (2 meetings); Rutherglen, by John Cassels; Springburn Liberal Association, David Cassels; Glasgow Young Scots, Wm. D. Hamilton; Maybole Workers' Association, John Paul; Glasgow Municipal Elections, ex-Bailie Burt and J. Paul.

The Queen's Park (Glasgow) Liberal Association advocate the Taxation of Land Values as an alternative to Protection while holding fast to the policy of free imports. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, in acknowledging receipt of a resolution on these lines passed by the Association, says he is in cordial agreement with it.

Bailie D. M. Stevenson (Glasgow), who is standing for re-election for the Woodside Ward, says in his election address:—"Cheaper houses are absolutely needed, and this involves a radical revision of the law in regard to the tenure and taxation of land. The Corporation has had the same experience as the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company in its attempts to grapple with the Housing Problem, and the deadlock will continue." This is striking testimony from a man who in the Council and outside has strenuously devoted himself to municipal and philanthropic efforts to solve the housing question.

The League has sold out the 5,000 copies of "Protection or Free Trade," and taken the responsibility of ordering a further supply of 10,000. The books are going very well through the booksellers and at public meetings. Members and friends of the League are again reminded to help the sale of the book at public meetings.

Mr. George Fowlds, M.P. (New Zealand), sends £5 to Campaign Fund, and writes:—"I recognise that the storm centre of the impending fight must be Great Britain. Put all your mettle into the fight. The Colonies do not need preference, and Britain cannot afford it."

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### News of the Movement.

W. E. Johnson, Sydney, sends 10/ for five new subscribers, and writes:

**New South Wales.** —I find *Land Values* of great value for reference purposes in propaganda work. It may interest you to know that a deputation from the Sydney League interviewed Mr. J. H. Carruthers, the leader of the Opposition of the New South Wales Parliament, to ascertain from him the precise attitude of the Liberal and Reform Party (the Opposition aforesaid) regarding the question of Land Value Taxation. He assured the deputation that the party were unanimously in favour of the principle, and, if returned to power at the next general election, it was his intention to bring in a local self-government measure for the whole of the State, in which rating on ground values only, irrespective of improvements, would be the sole basis of revenue; and the party had embodied in their platform the principle of taxing unimproved land values without any reservation whatsoever. Mr. Carruthers is to address a meeting of the Sydney Single Tax League on the question on Sept. 2nd. The Lord Mayor of Sydney is a great enthusiast for land value taxation for municipal purposes, as also is Mr. Nesbitt, the Town Clerk (formerly of Westminster), and a recent visit to Queensland (where the system has been for some time in successful operation) has made Sydney's Lord Mayor more than ever desirous to see the system in operation here. During a recent short lecturing tour in the Northern River districts, large tracts of land were pointed out to me which were taken up by the present Premier under the non-residential clauses of our Land Laws at 30/ per acre (deferred payments). They had paid instalments up to about 15/ per acre, when, without having done anything whatsoever towards improving the land, they sold portions to intending farmers for £10 per acre—land covered with dense timber and scrub, all of which would have to be cut down and the land cleared before the ground could even be prepared for cultivation. In the town of Lismore last week a block of land was sold for building purposes at an advance of 400 per cent. on its selling value of a few months ago. The added cost would have gone far towards the erection of the proposed building thereon; and yet it is hard to get some people to see the wrong and the injustice of this sort of thing.

Mr. J. H. Carruthers, Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament of New South Wales, was the chief speaker at the Henry George Anniversary held at Sydney, 2nd September, 1903. In the course of his address (reports the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*) Mr. Carruthers said "Henry George was one of the world's greatest thinkers, one of its greatest philosophers, and one of its greatest men. He paved the way for that system of land value taxation so bitterly opposed in this country, but which now that it had been on the Statute Book was accepted as the right system of taxation."

**New Zealand.** On the 14th of November, 1901, the city of Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, with a population of about 50,000, by a vote of 1,261 to 591, determined to raise all its local revenue by a tax on land values.

The present Town Clerk of Wellington (John R. Palmer) in his annual report, 1902-3, to the Mayor and Councillors of the city, says:—

"The result of the first year's trial of this system of rating must be considered a gratifying one, and leaves no room for regret at its adoption. That which was claimed by its exponents has been amply fulfilled; it encourages improvement, stimulates the use of land, secures the unearned increment to those who have added the value, mulcts all lands in their fair share of taxation, and paralyzes the old system under which rental values on lands could, by simple

manipulation, reduce local taxation to a farce. It is to be hoped that in the near future legislation will enable the unimproved system to be adopted for all those purposes for which it is now necessary to also undertake an assessment on the annual value basis. It is only stating a fact to say that much, if not all, of the activity in the building operations of the city and surroundings during the past year is due to the influence of this healthy measure, and with the necessary restrictions to prevent overcrowding of buildings no untoward result need be apprehended."

It is stated that Mr. Palmer at the time of his appointment was not recognised or known as a single taxer, and does not now profess to be one.

The Mayor of Gore (Mr. Jas. Beattie) presided at a meeting held in the Willard Temperance Hotel, 2nd September, to honour the memory of Henry George. Addresses were delivered by Messrs. R. Dodds, A. Wayte, and W. Gilchrist. Refreshments were served. The speeches were interspersed by song and recitation. Mr. Dodds, who received a vote of thanks for promoting the meeting, said it was the intention to make the meeting an annual one. He advised all present to subscribe to *Land Values*. "Auld Lang Syne" closed the meeting.

**New Zealand.** *The Liberator* reports—That the Borough of Blenheim, on the 17th June, adopted the Rating of Land Values Act by 224 votes to 64. The Borough of Hawera, in April last, adopted the Act by 129 to 9 votes. Both victories were chronicled by the leading daily papers without comment. During the previous year, according to *The Liberator*, the land values of Hawera increased by £63,830, and the improvements by £15,000. The landowners, including 100 absentees, gained four times as much by shirking as the workers gained by working.

**Victoria.** The Echuca Single Tax League held a meeting to commemorate the birth of Henry George in the Town Hall, Echuca, on 4th September. The Mayor (Mr. H. M'Kenzie) occupied the chair. Appropriate addresses were delivered, and the George doctrine explained by Messrs. Cyril F. James, W. H. Welch, and T. L. Lindsay. The meeting otherwise took the form of a social. A very enjoyable and profitable evening was brought to a close by a vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding.

**Johannesburg, S.A.** **The Housing Commission.**—The monotonous reiteration of the facts of the case against the landlord was broken at the sitting of the Housing Commission last week by the evidence tendered by Mr. W. N. Cohen and by Mr. E. S. Grogan. Both these witnesses went straight to the root of the matter, and advocated the taxation of unimproved land values in order to check the present tendency to hold land out of use for speculative purposes. Mr. Cohen says, "The effect of removing buildings and other improvements from the incidence of the rates would be to increase the rates imposed upon the bare land values. This, again, would have the effect of reducing the price of land, which is the one commodity which falls in price on being taxed, and the taxation of which therefore benefits the consumer, *i.e.*, the general public."

Mr. Cohen evidently has a thorough grip of the land question, and his contribution to the evidence brought before the commission is a valuable one.

Mr. E. S. Grogan also dealt with the question at the basis, instead of like most witnesses at the apex. He finds Johannesburg "ring-fenced with enormously powerful corporations," and says, "No immediate relief can be obtained

except by taxation of urban areas, such taxation to be assessed on the unimproved value, and made payable by the ground landlord. This would have the effect of forcing the landlord to himself build or throw his land on the market to be taken up by some one who was prepared to build. It would to a great extent destroy the speculative element in prices, and in time burst the corner. There can be no doubt but that the retrograde action of the Government in ignoring the Town Council's desire to rate on unimproved values only has been a considerable factor in maintaining the present cruel pressure on the active element on the Rand."—*The Tribune* (Johannesburg, S.A.).

### THE TRUST DANGER.

If our iron manufacturers form a ring, what can they do? The London County Council, let us say, wants some tramway rails. The rail-makers may put their heads together, but they cannot fleece the London ratepayers, for our market is open, and if our home manufacturers want extra profits at our expense, we can get rails from Belgium or Germany. Give the rail-makers a 25 per cent. duty and note the difference. Within the margin of that 25 per cent. duty they can fleece us to their heart's content, agreeing with each other not to quote less than so much per ton. Deprived of his remedy, the consumer is delivered over to the combine, bound hand and foot by Protection.

If anyone doubts what I say let him consider the case of the American Steel Trust. The United States has the power to produce the cheapest iron and steel in the world. At Pittsburg, under natural conditions, the elements of pig-iron could be assembled so cheaply that no nation in the world could easily compete with the American product. But the American iron men have a tariff, which they have used with such effect that the full amount of the duty and more is exacted from American consumers of every ton of the enormous American production of pig. By 16s. 8d. per ton duty the American iron manufacturer is protected from foreign competition. By 16s. 8d. per ton duty the American consumer is deprived of protection. So it falls out that we in Free Trade England have cheap iron, while the Americans, with the best iron resources in the world, have dear iron. The reader will not fail to understand why some of our iron manufacturers are so eager for a tariff. If anyone doubts let him turn to the "Handbook for Speakers," issued in the interests of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, page 27:

"The conditions for successful dumping are (1) That the makers' home market should be protected by a tariff (*for it is necessary to secure high prices at home*)."

Truth will out, you see, even in a Birmingham handbook.

The manufacturer who has once tasted protection is insatiable. Read the American iron papers, which back steel trust interests, and you will find the most bitter resistance to any attempts to lower the duties. Why? Simply because the power to rob the American consumer of 20s. per ton would at once depart. Americans would again enter into their magnificent birthright, and the great Steel Trust would smash. Away would go the rotten finance, and the inflated capitals, but the ore in the Lake Superior mines would remain, and be available at natural prices. Give our iron and steel manufacturers a small duty to begin with, revert once more to that ancient shibboleth Protection, and we shall surely find that we have fashioned a weapon for our own destruction. The trade would soon be working under the artificial conditions created by the duty, and be able with truth to allege that any reversion to Free Trade would ruin a great many people. On the strength of a 20 per cent. duty and the consequent high prices of iron and steel one or more great trusts would be formed, capitalised on the swollen profits promptly created by the duties. Then to continue to earn such profits the tariff would come to be an absolute necessity, and any

attempt to lower it would be met with millionaire-power corruption.

Mr. Franklin Pierce of New York, says:—

"For forty years, through the enactment of protective tariffs, we (the Americans) have been corrupting our public men. We have given our legislators the power of transferring millions of dollars from the hands of the people to the pockets of the few hundred 'Napoleons of Finance' by a single Congressional enactment. Place three or four hundred Republicans or Democrats of approved honesty in Congress, continue them there for a few years, and a considerable proportion of their number will surely yield to the temptation to make money out of tariff legislation. So successful have wealth and avarice been in controlling national legislation that to-day few men think of attaining wealth in great business adventures without national or state aid in the form of special legislation.—Leo. G. Chiozza-Money in *The Morning Leader*, 10/9/03.

"PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE."—The controversy over the new fiscal policy has produced quite a crop of Free Trade literature. The latest is a re-issue of the late Mr. Henry George's well-known book, "Protection or Free Trade," from the office of the Scottish Single Tax League, 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow. It is unnecessary to say that the book is well written, and that all interested in the fiscal question will be the better of reading it. The work is issued at a nominal price, and is printed in good, readable type.—*Glasgow Evening Times*.

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